

Boas (Fr.) Compliments of the author

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NOTES ON THE CHEMAKUM LANGUAGE.

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When George Gibbs wrote on the tribes of western Washington (Cont. to N. Am. Eth., vol 1, p. 177), the Chemakum still numbered 90 souls. When I visited Puget Sound in the summer of 1890 I learned of only three individuals who spoke the language—one woman, living near Port Townsend, and one man and his sister, who live at Port Gamble. As the Indians of Puget Sound are very restless in summer I had great difficulty in finding any of these individuals. After a protracted search I succeeded in meeting "Louise," who lives at Port Gamble, where she makes a living as a washerwoman. Although she speaks Chemakum occasionally with her brother, she uses mostly Clallam in conversing with the other Indians of the village, and the Chinook jargon in her intercourse with the whites. She has, therefore, undoubtedly forgotten part of her language. She stated that neither she nor her brother and the woman living near Port Townsend speak Chemakum fluently and properly. Besides, she was somewhat addicted to the use of liquor, and as she herself and the white man with whom she lived indulged alternately in their libations, the conditions for the collections of good linguistic material were not very favorable. Still, I was able to collect about 1,250 words, grammatical forms, and sentences, which were all corroborated by repeated questioning. From this material the following notes have been derived:

According to Gibbs the original country of the Chemakum, who call themselves Aqoxúlo,* embraced Port Townsend, Port Ludlow, and Port Gamble. According to the uniform testimony of Louise, a few Clallam and a Puyallup, they were restricted to the peninsula between Hood canal and Port Townsend.

Phonetics.—The vowels are not quite as variable and indistinct as in the neighboring Salishan dialects, but still obscure vowels are

* \mathfrak{k} =deep guttural k. \mathfrak{e} =e in flower. $t_{\mathfrak{y}}$ =dento-alveolar t.

q=ch as in Scotch "loch." l'=explosive posterior l.

! following a letter indicates more than ordinary strength of articulation.



very frequent. Diphthongs are rare. I am sure only of the occurrence of ai and au.

The following consonants are found in my list of words:

h. k, ɿ, q. y. n; t; s, c, t_g. ts, tc. m, p. l, l'.

The following sounds begin words:

a, a, ē, e, ē, i, ō. u is not found in my list as an initial sound. All consonants with the exception of y and t_g are found as initial sounds. Combinations of consonants in the beginning of words are very rare. I found only the following examples: tsɿ, striking; sptcō'o, berry basket.

The following terminal consonants and combinations of consonants are found in my collection:

k, ɿ, q.	n; t; s.	ts, tc.	m, p.	l, l'.
	ɿt ks			ɿl'
	lt ɿs			tsl'
	nt ns			
	tst			
	tct			

The Article.—It seems that nouns have two genders, masculine and feminine, which have separate articles.

qō hē'na, my father. kō hē'na, my mother.

qō ȶ'tit̄ts, thy house. kō hē'elōts̄ts, thy canoe.

qō hā'maa, the tree.

The plural article is the same for both genders:

hō tsitsqa'll'ē, my cousins.

In interrogative sentences other articles are used—qa for masculine, tca for feminine, qā for plural.

ko'ōk qa hē'nēets?—Where is thy father?

ko'ōk tca hē'nēets?—Where is thy mother?

ko'ōk qa tētc'ukl'as?—Where is my arrow?

ko'ōk tca hē'elōkūl'ēs?—Where is my canoe?

ko'ōk qa tax̄'l̄kulēs?—Where is my axe?

ko'ōk tca qnē'lēs'ēts?—Where is thy knife?

ātc'ēs qa hā'acētt̄ts?—What have you bought?

ko'ōk qā ȶ't!l'ē?—Where are my houses?

ko'ōk qā tsilō'lexl'ēs?—Where are my canoes?

The Noun.—It appears from the examples given above that the noun has two genders. It is of interest to note that pronominal gender, by means of which male and female are distinguished, is found in all Salishan dialects spoken west of the Cascade range and on the coast of British Columbia, while real gender occurs in all dialects of the Chinook.

The plural is, more properly speaking, a collective, but is frequently used in a way similar to our plural, namely, when the collective and plural ideas nearly coincide. The difference between the two is, however, brought out clearly in the following instance:

é'sa-i (1) tc'a'l'ai (2) tca'qul' (3)—many (1) stones are (2) on the beach (3).

l'é'sai tc'a'tc'al'a—a heap of stones.

The collective is formed in a variety of ways:

(1) By the prefix *ts* with the first vowel of the stem:

Singular.	Collective.	
ha'maa	tsa'hamaa	tree.
tsu'qot	tsitsu'qot	lake.
a'määs	tsaa'määs	grandparent.
hēlō'lexl'	tsilō'lexl'	canoe.

(2) By reduplication:

hau'atska	hahaua'tska	deer.
qué'ltém	qaque'ltém	European (borrowed from
qu'élës	qukué'lës	knife. [Clallam].
té'el'läas	téteel'äas	husband.

(3) By diæresis:

tcā'atcis'is tcāatcā'is'is my mother's sister.

(4) By amplification of the stem according to unknown rules; frequently with the infix *ts*:

koō'tlis	kutsi'tlkäas	my wife.
qā'aqäas	qat, 'éqäas	my sister's husband.
tax'ol'okul'	tatsk'ol'okul'	axe.
ët, é'kaa	öot!, ö'kaa	house.

(5) From distinct stems:

ts'ë'katcil' kō'la dead.

A few nominal suffixes (nouns as used in compounds) form plurals:

-ātcēt, plural: -ts'ā'it, blanket; pēcā'tcēt, white blanket; tlakuats'ā'it, two blankets.

-tē'ia, plural: -ta, day; kuētē'ia, one day; mē'ēsta, four days.

-xtsēl, plural: -axal, person in canoe.

Numerals.—

Counting.	Persons.	Canoes.	Fathoms.	Dogs or horses.	Persons in canoe.
1 kuē'l'	koā'l'	kuē'ēkō	kē'l'ōlō	kuē'ēns	kuē'xtsēl
2 l'a'kua	l'a'wukas	l'a'kuakū	l'a'kuēlō	l'a'kuāns	l'a'waqazal
3 kōa'lē	kōa'l'tsō	kōa'lakū	kōlē'lō	kōalā'ns	kōa'lētsakal
4 mē'ēs	mē'ēs	mē'ēskō	mē'ēsa'lō	mē'ēsens	mē'ēsakal
5 tca'aa	tca'aa	tca'aakū		tcā'aans	
6 tsē'l'as	tsē'l'as	tsē'l'askū		tsē'l'āsens	
7 ts!kō'olkoant			ts!kō'olkoantkō		ts!kō'olkoantēns
8 k!o'a'yēkoant			k!o'a'yēkoantkō		
9 kuē'l'tsqal		kuē'tsqalkō			
10 tc!l'ē'taa		tc!l'ētā'akū			
11 tc!l'ē'taa qsi kuē'l'					
20 koā'l'atstci					
30 kōala'koanlo					
40 mē'ēskoanlō, (etc., up to)					
100 tc!l'ē'tkoanlō					

The numerals seven, eight, and ten mean the first, second, and fourth fingers, respectively. Nine is derived from one, meaning, probably, ten less one; twenty is one man, thus indicating the vigesimal origin of the numerical system. It appears from the above list that numerals may be compounded with any of the innumerable nominal suffixes.

kue'ēsēlō, once. l'a'kuasēlō, twice.

Personal Pronouns.—

lā'al', I.	tsē'ia, thou.	ō'ētcō, he.
mā'al', we.	tsē'ial', you.	? they.

Possessive Pronouns.—

tā'ēlaai—it is mine.

hēēlē'ets'ē—it is thine.

(hēēlē'ets'ai ō'otcō—that is his.)

(hēēlēets'ai ō'eksō—that is hers.)

mā'al'ōoi—it is ours.

hēēleesti'tcē—it is yours.

hēēlēetcā'as—it is theirs.

-ēs, my. -ēts, thy. -qēs, his. -tcuks, her.
-t_quks, our. -stētc, your. -tcāas, their.

For instance : tax̄o'lku'lēs—my axe. hē'nēētcuks—her father.
hē'nēt_quks—our father.

Intransitive Verb.—

	Singular.	Plural.
1st person,	-la, -lē	-ma
2d "	-ēts	-ētsal'
3d " masc.,	-tēq, -ē	} -aē
3d " fem.,	-uks	

For instance :—from kuētsā'at, sick :

kuētsā'atēla—I am sick. kuētsā'ataē—they are sick.

Tenses are formed by a series of affixes, which are placed following the stem of the verb and preceding the pronominal suffix. There are a great many of these suffixes, but I am sure of the meaning of the following only : -kuē, future ; -tsi, perfect ; -lēm, imperfect (see following page, transitive verb).

χōtcilekuē'la—I shall drink.

takuil'cse'la (1) kuē'tsaatais (2)—yesterday I have been (1) sick (2).

Interrogative :

kuētsā'atalē—am I sick ?	_____	_____	_____
kuētsā'atatts—art thou sick ?	_____	_____	_____
kuētsā'atē—is he sick ?	_____	_____	_____

kuētsā'atātētsl'—are you sick ?
kuētsā'at'aē—are they sick ?

Negative :

	Singular.
1st person,	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'lē.
2d "	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tēts!
3d " masc.,	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tētca'as.
3d " fem.,	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tēetcuks.

	Plural.
1st person,	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tēt _q uks.
2d "	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tēstētc.
3d "	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tētca'as.

It appears that the endings of the negative coincide closely with the possessive pronouns, while those of the indicative agree with the personal pronoun.

Transitive Verb.—

I have only an imperfect record of the forms of the transitive verb with incorporated pronominal object. The most striking peculiarity of these forms is the separation of pronominal subject and object by the temporal character. In the following table = signifies the stem of the verb, — the temporal character:

me.	thee.	him.	her.
I	=q—la	= —laē	= —layuks
thou=—l—tsa		= —tsaaē	= —tsayuks
he =ē—la	=ē—tsa		
we	=q—ma	= —maē	= —mayuks
us.	you.		them.
I	=q—la'āl'ōl'		= —layaē
thou=lao—tsa			= —tsāēyaē
he =ē —ma	=ē—tsā'āl'ōl'		
we	=q—mā'āl'ōl'		= —ma'yaē

For instance :—aēltse'squkuē'la, I feed thee. tēpätēlaolē'mtsa, thou hast vanquished us. aēltse'squkuē'ma, we feed thee.

Suffixes which are used for forming derivations are placed in the same position in which the temporal characters are found. For instance, with -t!atl, which forms the desiderative :—taxuksēlot!a't-lēma, he wants to strike us (from tāx-, to strike).

The reflexive is formed by the suffix -itqa :—qoatst!atcitqala, I wash my hands (qoats-, washing ; -t!atc, hand ; -itqa, reflexive ; -la, I).

When the verb is accompanied by an adverb, the latter is inflected, while the verb remains unchanged. A frequentative is formed by amplification of the verbal stem.

Formation of Words.—

A great number of nouns are found in two forms, independent and dependent, the latter being used for the formation of compounds. When numerals, adjectives, verbs, or other nouns are connected with such nouns, the dependent form must be used. It seems that all these dependent forms are suffixed. For instance : -spa, fire ; kuē'espā, one fire ; mā'tcaspa, a great fire ; la'uspēela, to pour water into fire.

It seems that in many cases there is no traceable connection between the dependent and independent forms of the noun.

Independent. In compounds.			
back	χ!'-enōkoat	-χ!-ēnuk	t'cā'apχ!-ēnukoatqala, I warm my back.
belly	χa'mātcit	-ē'tcē	kuaχē'tcē, scar on belly.
breast	tamētsa'ml'it	-tsaml'ō	t!'-ētsts'a'ml'ōt, half fathom, viz., middle of breast.
blanket	pē'ests'atc	-atcēt	tcenā'nōkacēt, dog-hair blanket.
canoe	he'lōlaxl'	-kō	mē'eskō, four canoes.
day	—	sing. -tē'ia plur. -ta	l'ākuata, two days.
dollar		-tcē'sit	l'akuatcē'sit, two dollars.
domestic animal (dog and horse)		-ans	kutsā'patans, bitch, mare.
ear	sisl'ált	t!'-a	χakuyēt!'a'a, deaf.
face	kul'ō'kul'	-l'ō,-l	kuák'lō, scar on face; qoats-litqala, I wash my face.
finger	—	-koanu	χ!'-au'ikoanut, finger-ring.
fire	nē'ia	-spa	mā'tticaspa, a great fire.
foot	láakut	-anqō	kōolánqō, lame.
hand	t'atc	-t'atc	χ!'-aut'átct, bracelet.
head	qa'nēt	-t'ē'k! -t!'-ēt	cā'act'ēk!, bald. tō'pt!'-ēt, head-ring; = "tied around head."
house	ot!l'ē	-tē'tcō	aléutētcō'ola, I build a house.
language	—	-t'kulō	Bostontqulō, English.
mind	—	-ēqatc	l'!ōomē'qatc, courageous = strong-minded.
moon	ts!-etsu'χl'a	-t!'-el'ō'a	kuā'χ!'-ēl'ō'a, half moon.
mouth	χō'otō	-χ!ō	tsāuqoā'χ!ō, mouth bleeds.
neck	χ!'-amō'χs	-χōs	pā'atēχōs, collar bone.
nose	sēmō'sēt	-ōs	l'ōk!'-ōsēt, perforation of nose.
point	—	-t!'-ēkōa	lux!'-ut!'-ē'qoala, I cut off point.
river	χu'māa	-atsit	mā'ttcatsit, large river.
trail	mō'χlunt	-l'ē'mēt	kuēēl'ē'mēt, one trail.
tree	hámaa	-tcat -pat	kuē'etcat, one tree. χā'ēltcitpat, maple; = "paddle tree."

water	ts!'-ō'ua	-sēna	tcitc'ē'sēnāala, I jump into water.
to look	—	-al'sē	ts'ēlēkoā'l'sē, looking up.
made with	—	-tcil'	ta'kstatcil', chips, "made with axe."
instrument	—	-xul'	koā'atxul', whetstone;= "instrument for sharpening."